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COLLOCATIONS AND CONTEXTUAL SEMANTICS OF THE ETHNONYMS *LEIŠI* AND *LIETUVIEŠI* ‘LITHUANIANS’ IN THE TEXT CORPUS OF MODERN LATVIAN LANGUAGE

Anotacija

Šio straipsnio tikslas – taikant tekstynų lingvistikos metodą, analizuoti etnonimų *leiši* ir *lietuvieši* ‘lietuviai’ kolokacijas „Šiuolaikinės latvių kalbos tekстыne“ (*Līdzsvarots mūsdienų latviešu valodas tekstu korpus*), palyginti abiejų etnonimų kontekstinę semantiką.

Lyginant leksemų *lietuvieši* ir *leiši* ‘lietuviai’ vartojimo dažnumą „Šiuolaikinės latvių kalbos tekстыne“, tautovardžio *lietuvieši* paplitimas yra akivaizdus, todėl etnonimas *leiši*, neatsižvelgiant į jo, kaip sinoniminio pavadinimo, vartojimą (kartais viename ir tame pačiame tekste), gali būti laikomas pasenusiu žodžiu. Tekстыne aptikti etnonimo *leiši* desemantizacijos atvejai rodo jo senumą ir įvairiapusį funkcionavimą latvių kalboje. Įrodymų, patvirtinančių „Šiuolaikinės latvių kalbos žodyno“ (*Mūsdienų latviešu valodas vārdnīca*) teiginį, kad leksema *leiši* šiuo metu „turi šiek tiek menkinamąjį stilistinį atspalvį“, tekstų nebuvo rasta. Apskritai „Šiuolaikinės latvių kalbos tekстыne“ lietuvių įvaizdis yra gana teigiamas – daugiausia istoriniame, kalbos, kultūros ir sporto kontekste; tačiau ekonomikos ir emigracijos kontekste išreiškiamas gana neigiamas supratimas apie lietuvius.

PAGRINDINIAI ŽODŽIAI: tekstynų lingvistika, semantika, etnonimai, lietuviai.

Abstract

The aim of this paper is, by using Computational linguistics method to analyse collocations of ethnonyms *leiši* and *lietuvieši* 'Lithuanians' in "Balanced Corpus of Modern Latvian" (*Līdzsvarots mūsdienu latviešu valodas tekstu korpus*), compare contextual semantics of both ethnonyms. Comparing the frequency of use of the lexemes *lietuvieši* and *leiši* 'Lithuanians' in the modern Latvian language text corpus, the prevalence of the ethnonym *lietuvieši* is evident, therefore, the ethnonym *leiši*, regardless of its use as synonymic designation (sometimes in one and the same text), can be considered as an obsolete word. The desemantisation cases of the ethnonym *leiši*, detected in the corpus, show its oldness and varied functionality in Latvian language. The evidences to prove the statement of the "Modern Latvian Language Dictionary" (*Mūsdienu latviešu valodas vārdnīca*) that the lexeme *leiši* nowadays "carries slightly pejorative stylistically expressive colouring" were not found in the text corpus. In general, the image of a Lithuanian reflected in the modern Latvian language text corpus is rather positive – mostly in historical, language, culture and sports contexts, yet in the context of economics and emigration rather negative impression of Lithuanians is expressed.

KEY WORDS: corpus linguistics, semantics, ethnonyms, Lithuanians.

doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.15181/rh.v23i0.1797>

Introduction

Studies of ethnonyms in balstistics may be divided into several thematic groups: 1) ethnonym etymology in relation with problematics of ethno-genesis and linguo-genesis (studies by Antons Breidaks, Kazimieras Būga, Pietro Umberto Dini, Jānis Endzelīns, Kazimieras Kuzavinis, Valentin Sedov, Vladimir Toporov, Zigmas Zinkevičius, etc.); 2) ethnonyms as motivators of proper names and common nouns (studies by Pauls Balodis, Brigita Bušmane, Alvydas Butkus, Leonards Latkovskis, Benita Laumane, Inese Zuģicka, Agris Timuška etc.); 3) semantics and functionality of ethnonyms (studies by Ojārs Bušs, Laima Anglickienė, Laura Kamandulytė, Jānis Rozenbergs, Sarmīte Trūpa, Anna Vulāne, Vytautas Žydonis etc.) (Kļavinska 2015, 59).

Ethnonym studies in Baltic linguistics mainly focus on **etymological meaning** or motivation semantics. **Denotative meaning** is defined in explanatory dictionaries that usually indicate affiliation to an ethnic community (tribe, people, nation), and relation with a particular area (indigenous people of a country). **Connotative meaning**, i.e. additional element of meaning of ethnonymic lexicon that expresses the speaker's emotional attitude and indicates the sphere of word usage (VPSV 2007, 264) is less often analysed.

Semantic researcher John Saeed recognizes that pragmatic aspect of **contextual meaning** is particularly important (Saeed 1997, 27). It is believed that the contextual meaning is to be related with the informative content, images or associations. These associations may be either common for the users of particular language or completely subjective (Ainiala *et al.* 2012, 32). Proper names, similarly to other language components, are related to many extra-linguistic factors, therefore, over recent years, they have been often analyzed according to their cultural, social context, as well as the context of intercultural communication, for example, in everyday language or fiction texts (Kohlheim 2014). This research describes contextual meanings of ethnonyms.

Using the methods of corpus linguistics, the semantics of ethnonyms are mostly analysed in Lithuanian linguistics. For instance, Laura Kamandulytė has analysed collocations of an ethnonym *arabas* 'Arab' in the modern Lithuanian language corpus (Kamandulytė 2006, 38–47). A broader study is the Master's paper of Vytautas Žydonis, in which the contextual semantics of the ethnonyms *čigonas* 'Gypsy', *romas* 'Roma', *žydas* 'Jew', *karaimas* 'Karaites', *lenkas* 'Pole', *rusas* 'Russian' has been analysed in the modern Lithuanian language corpus (Žydonis 2010).

When nominating Lithuania and Lithuanians in historical sources there are three options: with root *liet-* (Lithuanian tradition), with root *lit-* (Slavic tradition), and *leit-* (Latvian tradition). *Leiši* – the oldest designation of Lithuanians in Latvian language – is considered to be borrowed from the Couronian language, it appears in folklore texts and in the oldest dictionaries. While in the electronic "Modern Latvian language Dictionary" the negative connotative semantics has been attributed to the ethnonym *leiši*: "Latvian linguist Jānis Endzelīns recommended to use this word in literary language without stylistic limitations, for instance, as in folklore, yet nowadays it carries slightly pejorative stylistically expressive colouring" (MLVV). Stylistically neutral designation in modern Latvian language is the ethnonym *lietuvieši* 'nation, inhabitants of Lithuania' (MLLV). The Latvian slang dictionary contains a lexeme *leitenīte* derived from the ethnonym, which means 'goods produced in Lithuania', for instance *frēze leitenīte* (Lithuanian milling cutter) (LVSV 2009, 270), while *braļukas* 'brothers' – ethnic nickname for Lithuanians used in colloquial speech, has not been found in modern lexicographic sources. An example from

the Internet resources (a commentary on fishing licences): (...) *varbūt vajag kā Lietuvā uz katru ūdens tilpni savu copes atļauju ar saviem noteikumiem, ne velti leišu braļukas pie mums brauc!* '(...) maybe for each water body we need its own fishing licence with certain requirements as it is in Lithuania, not without a reason Lithuanian brothers are coming here!' (Loms 2014).

The modern Latvian language text corpus, although constantly supplemented, is comparatively small considering its volume – it contains 4.5 millions of running words; the corpus contains texts of various genres, beginning with the texts from 1991 (Auziņa 2015). This source has been chosen for the semantic analysis of ethnonyms for several reasons: 1) the corpus provides authentic examples of modern Latvian written language, 2) it is created based on texts of various genres, in which various ethnonym use contexts are found; 3) technical possibilities of the corpus allows to carry out automatic statistical analysis of language data, detect collocations. This resource has also several drawbacks: the corpus does not reflect the most recent language development trends; it does not reflect colloquial speech characteristics, which could be useful regarding ethnonym semantics. Therefore, in this case, the task of further research is the study of colloquial speech texts.

The use of the ethnonym *leiši* 'Lithuanians' (*pusleiši* 'half Lithuanians')

The oldest designation *leiši* in the corpus is detected only in 18 cases, all words are masculine plural nouns. Regarding the genre of the texts, the prevalent genres are fiction (8 cases) and journalism (6 cases). 2 compounds with a noun root *pus-* (*half*) as the first component and a root *liet-/leiš-* as the second component were detected in the fiction text: in singular form *pusleititis* and in plural form *pusleiši* 'half Lithuanians'.

It should be noted that 46 concordance rows were found with the root *liet-/leiš-*, yet 26 of them were not ethnonyms but: 1) ethnonymic semantic surnames *Leitis*, *Leitāns*, *Leiškalsns*; 2) lexemes referring to locations: plural locative case form or **ethnicon** – a common name for a nation or a tribe and territory – *leišos* 'on Lithuanians' land' and a toponym *Leišmale* 'a region in Latvia near Lithuanian border'; 3) a name of a dish occurring in Latvian dialects – *leititis* 'melted sour cream butter'. Transonymisation and

desemantisation examples of the ethnonym *leiši* confirm its archaic nature and diverse functionality in Latvian language.

The contexts of the ethnonym *leiši*

In order to determine the context of ethnonym use, 200 characters on the right and 200 characters on the left were reviewed. In separate cases the context determination posed difficulties, for instance, in one concordance row may overlap ethnic identity and language context, historical and social context. In this case, the closest collocations were considered.

The ethnonym *leiši* in the modern Latvian language corpus is most frequently used in **historical context**: 9 cases in total, including nominal collocations, which confirm a common origin, kinship, name the representatives of a society: *brāļi leiši* 'brothers Lithuanians', *leišu radi* 'Lithuanian relatives', *leišu senču gari* 'the spirits of Lithuanian ancestry', *leišu ciltis* 'Lithuanian tribes', *leišu pans* 'Lithuanian gentleman'. A broader context reveals the bravery of Lithuanians in the fight with the crusaders, their desire for adventures, adventurism: *Tava dēku meklētāja daba ir no leišu radiem* 'Your adventurous nature is inherited from Lithuanian relatives' (LVK 2013). *Leiši teitoņiem pirmie pretim stājās, līdz Maskavai senlaikos aizkarojās*. 'The Lithuanians were the first to stand against the Teutons, they fought up to Moscow in the olden days' (LVK 2013).

The ethnonym *leiši*, along with other ethnonyms in word groups, is used in the **context of ethnic identity** (3 word use cases): (...) *pie mums ir populāras anekdotes par igauņiem vai leišiem* (...) 'anecdotes about Estonians and Lithuanians are popular here' (LVK 2013). Lithuanians split ethnic identity is shown in the collocations of a compound *pusleititis*: *Bet kas puspolim – pusleitim kaut kādas robežas!* 'But what for half Pole – for half Lithuanian some kind of limits!' (LVK 2013).

Just as relevant is **social life**, more specifically, **travel context** (3 word use cases): *vispirms robežu šķērsoja leiši, bet mēs aiz viņiem* (...) 'the first to cross the border were Lithuanians, but we were the next ones' (LVK 2013), and the context of sports (3 word use cases): (...) *otrā vieta acīmredzot pretiniekos dabūs leišus* (...) 'the second place obviously will get Lithuanians as the opponents'; (...) *trešās ceturtdaļas sākumā leiši bija apņēmušies situāciju*

mainīt (..) 'in the beginning of the first quarter Lithuanians were determined to change the situation' (LVK 2013).

Only one word use case is detected in the **language context**, in which neighbour languages that has influenced Latvian language system are topicalized: (..) *Kādā valodā tu runā, zivs: latviešu, leišu, igauņu, līvu? Cik mulķīgi – saturs taču no tā nemainās* (..) 'What language do you speak, fish: Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Livonian? So silly – the content is still the same' (LVK 2013), and in the **economic context**: *Leiši jau cīērē uz Latviju* 'Lithuanians are already looking towards Latvia' [about car dealership] (LVK 2013).

The use of the ethnonym *lietuvieši* 'Lithuanians'

The corpus data show that the ethnonym *lietuvieši* is used more frequently in modern Latvian language: 188 word use cases. As ethnonyms, in essence, name an ethnic community, in this case – nation, it is logical that generalized masculine plural noun forms prevail in the corpus (167 cases). Regarding the case, nouns in plural possessive case dominate clearly (98 cases), where an ethnonym functions as a dependant component in stable word combinations: *lietuviešu valoda* 'Lithuanian language' (22), *lietuviešu kultūra* 'Lithuanian culture' (4), *lietuviešu sportisti* 'Lithuanian sportsmen' (3), *lietuviešu biedrība* 'Lithuanian association' (2), etc.

According to the allocation of corpus texts by genre, the most of word use cases were found in journalism: 160 cases; in scientific texts – 10 cases, in popular scientific texts – 4, in fiction – 1, other texts – 13.

The contexts of the ethnonym *lietuvieši*

Most frequently the ethnonym *lietuvieši* reveals the **context of sports** (37 word use cases). Mainly the individual and team sport games are concerned, in which Latvian (and other countries) and Lithuanian sportsmen compete. It is not possible to detect a certain type of sports in all the contexts, yet, where it is possible, such types of sports as basketball, marathon race, boxing, motocross, rally, track and field athletics are mentioned. The context reflects variable results: both wins of Lithuanians: *uzvar lietuvieši* 'Lithuanians win'; *neizdevās labot lietuviešu sportistam Arūnam Baļčūman piederošo sacensību rekordu* 'hasn't managed to beat the competition re-

cord of Lithuanian sportsman Arūnas Balčiūnas' (LVK 2013); *labākais bija lietuvietis Vitauts Šveds* 'the best was Lithuanian Vytautas Švedas' (LVK 2013), and defeats: *igauņu basketbolisti izrādījās labāki par lietuviešiem* 'Estonian basketball players proved to be better than Lithuanians' (LVK 2013); *ceturrtā vieta lietuviešiem, kas zaudēja visās spēlēs* 'fourth place for Lithuanians, who were defeated in all games' (LVK 2013); *lietuvietes bija tik švakas* 'Lithuanians were so bad' (LVK 2013).

In terms of frequency, the next context is **language** (25 cases), a stable word combination *lietuviešu valoda* 'Lithuanian language' appears in the text corpus 22 times, *lietuviešu mēle* 'Lithuanian tongue' (1). Broader context reflects the desire and opportunities to acquire Lithuanian language in Latvia: (...) *aicina pieteikties lietuviešu valodas kursiem* 'invite to apply for Lithuanian language courses' (LVK 2013); *lietuviešu valodu Jelgavā atsāka mācīt 1989. gadā* 'resumed teaching Lithuanian language in Jelgava in 1989' (LVK 2013); *vēlos apgūt lietuviešu valodu, kas man šķiet ļoti interesanta* 'I want to acquire Lithuanian language, which, I think, is very interesting' (LVK 2013); *viņai patīk mācīties lietuviešu valodu* 'she likes to study Lithuanian language' (LVK 2013); speaking in Lithuanian language as an expression of respect for the native speakers: *visu runu V. Zalters runāja skaidrā lietuviešu valodā ar nelielu latviešu akcentu* 'V. Zalters presented all the speech in a clear Lithuanian language with a slight Latvian accent' (LVK 2013), language as a way of expressing culture and identity (*lietuviešu valoda – lietuvietis* 'Lithuanian language – Lithuanian'; *lietuviešu valoda – lietuviešu kultūra* 'Lithuanian language – Lithuanian culture').

Social and political context (24 word use cases) reveals information about the Lithuanian community in Latvia (*Jelgavas Lietuviešu biedrība* 'Lithuanian society in Jelgava' (2), *lietuviešu kopienas pārstāvji* 'representatives of Lithuanian community'); the necessity to be united (*biedrība „Latviešu un lietuviešu vienība”* 'association "Latvian and Lithuanian unity"'); mums, *latviešiem un lietuviešiem, arī jābūt kopā, gan pārvarot grūtības, gan svinot svētkus* 'we, Latvians and Lithuanians, must be together, both in overcoming difficulties, and at celebrations' (LVK 2013)); the public sentiment in Lithuania (*kā man teikuši mani lietuviešu draugi, arī Lietuvā ir pieņemts gausties: viss notiekošais ir slikts; valdības nekam neder* 'as my Lithuanian friends have said, it is usual to complain in Lithuania too: all what happens is bad; the government serves no purpose' (LVK 2013)).

Emigration context is important in journalism texts (22 word use cases), which reveals emigration reasons (*par izbraukšanu visvairāk prāto tie lietuvieši, kuriem ir smagas finansiālās saistības pret bankām* 'those Lithuanians who has financial obligations towards banks think the most about leaving the country' (LVK 2013)), the mass character of emigration (*desmitiem tūkstošu lietuviešu acīmredzot grib noslēpt ierašanās datumu Lielbritānijā* 'tens of thousands of Lithuanians obviously want to hide the date of arrival in Great Britain' (LVK 2013)), emigration direction (*meklēt laimi ārzemēs lietuviešus vilina dažas Rietumeiropas valstis* 'some Western Europe countries tempt Lithuanians to seek their fortune abroad' (LVK 2013); *lielākā daļa uz Īriju un Lielbritāniju aizbraukušo lietuviešu negrasās atgriezties dzimtenē* 'a great part of Lithuanians who left for Ireland and Great Britain are not going to return home' (LVK 2013)). The context reveals rather negative image of Lithuanian emigrant (*Īrijas iedzīvotāji ir noraizējušies, ka ārvalstnieki – galvenokārt lietuvieši un poļi – izķer viņu zivis* 'people of Ireland are worried that foreigners – mostly Lithuanians and Poles – catch out their fish' (LVK 2013)).

The economic context (21 word use case) reflects successful activity of Lithuanian entrepreneurs in Latvia: *lietuvieši ir sajutuši iespēju savu biznesu attīstīt Latvijā* 'Lithuanians have sensed the opportunity to develop their business in Latvia' (LVK 2013); *lietuviešu kompānijām ir tendence Latvijā augt* 'Lithuanian companies in Latvia have a tendency to grow' (LVK 2013). Mainly the trade sector is mentioned in the text corpus: car dealership, trade of alcohol, flowers and agricultural products.

In the economic context, Lithuanian entrepreneurs are presented in a negative light as well – as unfair competitors: *lietuvieši iavedot ne tikai savu mantu, bet sadarbojas arī ar poļiem* 'Lithuanians import not only their own goods, but also cooperate with Poles' [import in Latvia cheaply bought strawberries and sell them at high prices as a local product] (LVK 2013); *tas liecina par lielo vilšanos lietuviešos* 'it shows the great disappointment in Lithuanians' [about unsuccessful cooperation in the electricity production] (LVK 2013).

While in the **cultural context** (19 word use cases) rather positive image of Lithuanian is brought out. Particular Lithuanian artists popular in Latvia are mentioned (*Latvijā iemīlotais lietuviešu dziedātājs Amberlife* 'Lithuanian singer Amberlife well-loved in Latvia' (LVK 2013); *viņa*

bija dzirdējusi (..) dziedot lietuvieti Veroniku Pavilolieni 'she has heard (..) Lithuanian Veronika Veronika Povilionienė singing' (LVK 2013)), open collaboration and support in various culture and art projects (*latviešu režisora Māra Martinsona un lietuviešu režisora Rimonda Paškeviča filma „Nevajadzīgie cilvēki”* 'film "Unnecessary people" by Latvian director Māris Martinsons and Lithuanian director Raimondas Paškevičius' (LVK 2013); *lietuvieši gan iedeva desmit punktus, igauņi – septiņus* 'Lithuanians did give ten points, Estonians – seven' [about the votes in the Eurovision song contest] (LVK 2013)). Cultural activities of the Lithuanian community in Latvia are mentioned as well: (..) *lietuviešu kultūras saknes Aknīstē nav zudušas* 'Lithuanian cultural roots in Akniste have not been lost' (LVK 2013). Most frequently mentioned cultural fields are folklore, music, pictorial art, photography and cinematography.

The mentioning of the lexeme *lietuvieši* along with other ethnonyms in a row could be considered as **ethnic** or **nationality** context (15 word use cases). Usually Lithuanians are mentioned in a list of ethnic minorities: (..) *uzskaitītās mazākuma tautības ir vācieši, krievi, ebreji, poļi, lietuvieši un igauņi. Tās ir Latvijas etniskās minoritātes* 'minorities listed are Germans, Russians, Jews, Poles, Lithuanians and Estonians. These are the ethnic minorities in Latvia' (LVK 2013). While in the summaries of various surveys, statistical data results, it appears that ethnonyms, including the lexeme *lietuvieši*, still can be not an ethnic, but national identifier: *kā liecina pētījuma rezultāti, 66 % latviešu, 60 % igauņu un 73 % lietuviešu kāzas organizējuši par saviem līdzekļiem* 'as research results show, 66 % of Latvians, 60 % of Estonians and 73 % of Lithuanians held the weddings at their own expense' (LVK 2013); *igauņi izdzer 86, lietuvieši – 81 litru [alus] gadā* 'Estonians drink 86 litres, Lithuanians – 81 litre [of beer] per year' (LVK 2013).

The historical context (13 word use cases) mostly reveals the events of 13th–14th century fights against the Livonian Brothers of the Sword, etc.: *vēl 14. gadsimtā austrumos no Zilupes meslus maksāja lietuviešiem* 'still in the 14th century, eastward of Zilupe, imposts were paid to Lithuanians' (LVK 2013); (..) *Saules kauja tiek pieminēta kā latviešu un lietuviešu vai pat kā Latvijas un Lietuvas uzvara pār 1202.gadā izveidoto Zobenbrāļu ordeni* 'the battle of Saule is mentioned as the victory of Latvians and Lithuanians or even as the victory of Latvia and Lithuania over the Order of

the Sword Brothers formed in 1202' (LVK 2013). The historical context of the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century appears less: *kādreiz lietuviešu laukstrādnieki nāca kalpot pie progresīvāk un intensīvāk strādājošiem latviešu saimniekiem* 'sometimes Lithuanian farm workers came to work for progressively and intensively working Latvian landlords' (LVK 2013).

In the context of travel and adventures (9 cases), the adventurous personality of Lithuanians and their desire for adventures is revealed: *Kaspars un Agita Āfriku vagoja divu jaustru lietuviešu (...) kompānijā* 'Kaspars and Agita crisscrossed Africa in a company of two cheerful Lithuanians' (LVK 2013); (...) *uzzināsiet par lietuviešu grandiozajiem plāniem pārcelties uz Madagaskaru* 'you will find out about the grand plans of Lithuanians to move to Madagascar' (LVK 2013).

Science is the less represented context (only 3 word use cases). Particular Lithuanian scientists are mentioned: *lietuviešu mikologs V. Urbons atklājis sēni* 'Lithuanian mycologist V. Urbonas discovered a fungus' [about a fungus – *Coprinus Dunarum* – discovered near Palanga] (LVK 2013); *lietuviešu vēsturnieks V. Žalis* (2) 'Lithuanian historian V. Žalys [about the research on the situation of Latvia and Lithuania after World War II] (LVK 2013).

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COLLOCATIONS AND CONTEXTUAL SEMANTICS OF THE ETHNONYMS *LEIŠI* AND *LIETUVIEŠI* 'LITHUANIANS' IN THE TEXT CORPUS OF MODERN LATVIAN LANGUAGE

Summary

Comparing the frequency of use of the lexemes *lietuvieši* and *leiši* in the modern Latvian language text corpus, the prevalence of the ethnonym *lietuvieši* is evident (188 : 20), therefore, the ethnonym *leiši*, regardless of its use as synonymic designation (sometimes in one and the same text), can be considered as an obsolete word. The desemantisation cases (26 word use cases) of the ethnonym *leiši*, detected in the corpus, show its oldness and varied functionality in Latvian language. The evidences to prove the statement of the Modern Latvian language Dictionary that the lexeme *leiši* nowadays “carries slightly pejorative stylistically expressive colouring” (MLVV) were not found in the text corpus.

Both previously mentioned ethnonyms prevail in different text genres: the ethnonym *lietuvieši* in journalism (160), *leiši* – fiction (10). Respectively the context dominants differ too: the ethnonym *lietuvieši* is used more frequently in the context of sports (37), language (25), society and

politics (24), emigration (22), economics (21) and culture (19), while the ethnonym *leiši* – in historical context (9).

In general, the image of a Lithuanian reflected in the modern Latvian language text corpus is rather positive – mostly in historical, language, culture and sports contexts, yet in the context of economics and emigration rather negative impression of Lithuanians is expressed. In order to determine more varied and precise contextual semantics of ethnonymic lexis denoting Lithuanians in modern Latvian language, colloquial speech should be studied in the further research.